1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

to as such. Taiwanese, also called Min-nan *hua*, is a Fukienese language like Amoy. It is spoken by the majority of the people of Taiwan, and, although it is spoken with different accents, the speakers of the different variants can understand each other. The accents vary according to the place of origin of the speaker's ancestors. Regional differences have developed in Taiwan as well, so that the accent of the coastal area where Hsin Hsing is located differs from the accents of Taichung or the mountains.

Hakka, another Chinese language, is spoken by the Hakka people (*k'o jen*, "guest people") who originated in Kwangtung province on the mainland. Because of the minority position of the Hakka in Taiwan, they have often had to learn Taiwanese, although Min-nan speakers seldom learn Hakka. The Hsin Hsing village area has no Hakka speakers, and there has been little or no reason for the people of the region to learn Hakka. They are, however, well aware of the Hakka people and of the differences between their languages.

Mandarin, the third Chinese language, is now the official language of the government, replacing Japanese. Japanese first became important in Taiwan through the school system developed by the former rulers. In the 1920's the Japanese government began to augment Taiwan's school system, and "by 1943, 70 percent of Taiwanese children of legal school age were attending some sort of school" (Barclay, 1954b:68n). A limited number of Taiwanese children, usually those whose parents had some status, attended a special primary school system set up by the colonial government for the Japanese children on the island. Classes in these schools were conducted in Japanese. Most children, however, attended the public primary schools whose classes were "conducted in the local dialect" although the children "were required to learn to read in Japanese" (Riggs, 1952:138). All secondary schools and colleges conducted classes "exclusively in Japanese" (Riggs, 1952:138).

In the rural area some children from wealthy landed families attended school beyond the primary level. Because of their education, they were given official jobs under the Japanese regime and mainly spoke Japanese. Today, these men, like a great many urbanites educated under the Japanese, still speak fluent Japanese. The same men now are working for the Mandarin-speaking Nationalist regime and so usually speak Mandarin. They have rarely had the opportunity to use their native Taiwanese and are often chided for speaking their own language very badly.

Most of the rural people though, who did attend public school, usually did not go beyond the primary school level. Many villagers, and almost all rural women, attended school irregularly or not at all. Among all these villagers then, many learned no more than a few

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
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words in Japanese, such as expressions to be used when entering the predominantly Japanese-manned police stations and other official places. Some uneducated men, however, learned a modicum of Japanese when they served in the Japanese army labor corps during the war period.

Under the Japanese the teaching of the Chinese written language as well as the traditional Chinese classical literature in the schools was illegal. However, village men tell about a Chinese school "secretly" conducted in a temple in Lukang even through the late 1930's. There children and teenagers were taught to read and write Chinese and to study the Chinese classics. Only a very limited number of people from Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages attended such schools, and there were few who attended the Chinese school who did not attend the Japanese primary schools as well.

In the Hsin Hsing area, then, except for the few Taiwanese who managed to attend secondary schools or colleges or who were laborers during the war, the number of persons able to read and speak Japanese (or read Chinese) was small. Grajdanzev, mostly on the basis of Japanese sources, noted that "after 1937 five and one half million Chinese (in Taiwan) could not read a newspaper in their own language, though most of them do not know Japanese" (1942:170). The effectiveness of the Japanese educational system for much of the population of the rural area has perhaps been exaggerated. Although the Japanese school system was greatly expanded between 1937 and 1943, it appears that it did not have time to develop any depth in its effect on the peasant.

Under the Nationalist government's theoretically "compulsory" education, almost all students and former students of the present school system can now speak some Mandarin, which is the only language used in the school after the first or second year. Some of the younger middle-aged men have developed a functional knowledge of simple Mandarin as a result of recent work contacts in Taipei or service in the Chinese army.

The language situation in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding rural area is as follows (for 1958): Very young children speak only Taiwanese (Min-nan) up through the first few years of school. Children in higher grades and young people up to the age of about twenty-six speak Mandarin with varying degrees of fluency in addition to their native Taiwanese. Their fluency depends upon the amount of schooling they have had, how long they have been out of school, and the amount of contact they have had with the language at work or in other special situations after leaving school.

Some men and a few women between twenty-four and forty-five speak some Japanese in addition to Taiwanese. The men learned it

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

APPENDIX 1

Translation Methods and the Interpreter in the Field

Before my work in Hsin Hsing village, I had been trained in Mandarin. This enabled me to converse freely and conduct interviews with Mandarin speakers. However, the majority of villagers and other people of the area spoke little or no Mandarin. At that time Taiwanese (Min-nan *Hua* or Amoy), which is one of the Fukinese languages, was their native tongue and Japanese in many instances their second language.

After a short time in the field, I was able to handle the common courtesies of the Taiwanese language of the village. And after a time I understood a great deal more of Taiwanese than I could actually speak. But this lack of a working knowledge of Taiwanese and Japanese meant that if the research was to be carried on in any depth, an interpreter who could speak both languages was necessary.

The individual employed for this purpose was a twenty-five-year-old Taiwanese man. Although brought up in Taichung—then a city of 225,000 about twenty-five miles from the village—the interpreter had secured much of his formal education in an agricultural high school. Moreover, his father operated a small farm outside the city limits. He had a great deal of familiarity with rural life and farming techniques, and throughout the course of the research his familiarity proved to be of great value. He helped facilitate good relations with the villagers, since he shared the same cultural and linguistic background as the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing.

The age and sex of the interpreter was an important consideration. His sex made it possible to interview the majority of the villagers. This even included most women, except young girls in their teens, young women not yet married, and some newlywed girls. At the age of twenty-five, he was young enough to have good rapport with teen-age boys and with boys of marriageable age. At the same time, he was old enough—mostly by virtue of his education and his recognized experience—to have good rapport with the older men and local officials.

The interpreter was fluent in four languages—Taiwanese, Japanese, Mandarin, and English. Soon after beginning the research, he could rapidly and accurately translate Taiwanese, Japanese, and Mandarin into English and easily reverse the process. In addition to his language facility, the interpreter was especially well suited for the job because of his pleasant personality and lack of condescension toward the village people. Just as my wife and I came to

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

114 In time I began to refer to the Lims as "our" family, at first jokingly,
123 but later with an odd sense of identification. I would be guilty of gross sentimentality and naive social science if I pretended that we became "members" of the Lim family. After a few months, however, the family became so used to our presence that formal expressions of politeness gave way to natural expressions, angry quarrels were not cooled by my entrance, nor were frustrated tears removed to another room. The objectivity I retained toward family quarrels and factions was due more to the undeniable gulf between our two cultures and to my own timidity than to any scientific principles. The tension between Lim Chieng-cua and his elder brother's widow became to me a conflict between two good people, both of whom deserved better treatment at the hands of the other—not an abstract problem of conflicting authority in the Chinese family system. The sad life of the pretty young prostitute in our family and the behavior of her shrewish mother was personally distressing when it should have been only an excellent example of the way in which a culture with no alternatives to marriage and family handles the problem of the unmarried and the barren.

114 Now, some six years later and many thousand miles away, I can re-read field notes with less emotion and evaluate what happened in the house of Lim in less subjective terms. In the past year or so I have drawn together from our field data the various bits of information and interviews we gathered from the Lims and their neighbors and combined them into a narrative. The picture of the Lim family that results is sketched by a foreigner, but the foreigner has tried not to attach American motivations to Taiwanese behavior. Of necessity the ordering of some events and the effect these events had on some lives is based on my conjecture. I have, I hope, made it apparent to the reader when I am guessing about something and when I have been told about it—and for that matter, when
114 I doubt the validity of what I have been told. All the quotations are
124 translations of comments made by family members, their neighbors, and their relatives. With many members of the family my communication
• [197] was clumsy because of my and their weakness in Mandarin (the official language of China) and my total lack of Hokkien (the local Chinese dialect). Fortunately, my assistant, a girl who grew up in a similar village, developed during her work with us the invaluable capacity to interpret without seeming to be a part of the conversation. She had, moreover, a phenomenal memory that enabled her to recall as much as fifteen minutes of conversation verbatim and to render the content of

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

not only be checked and checked again for their accuracy (as in any kind of systematic inquiry), but must also be set out in such a manner as to be consistent with the duty of frankness that the student owes to his readers and the obligations of loyalty and friendship he bears to his subjects. Anthropology studies people intensively and decently, and I am sure that Mrs. Wolf has discharged her double duty in a way that will command the respect of the most experienced practitioners of the craft. The care and intensiveness of the observations are matched by the delicacy and sensitivity of their expression.

Sentimentality is the enemy of anthropology. To write with understanding of people whose institutions and beliefs are alien requires the anthropologist to make an effort to see them as they are and to portray them as he sees them. He must view them in the round and strive to penetrate the meaning of their behavior through the language they use. Because they are his fellow human beings the anthropologist has privileged access to them; but because they speak a different language and think with different symbols, he has to break the code of another culture. To make us the beneficiaries of his studies, he must translate the exotic idiom into a language we follow, but he must do his best to avoid distorting his findings in the process of translation. Mrs. Wolf's book is in elegant English, yet she is not acting as, so to say, a simultaneous translator, but rather as a creative interpreter. She has seized in this book on one segment of Chinese life, extracted its order and meaning, and made us the fortunate heirs of her understanding.

The Lims of this study are Taiwanese, and, except in her subtitle and preface, Mrs. Wolf talks about Taiwan, not China in general. I must respect her choice of terms, but I should not be doing my job competently if I failed to point out that we may sometimes be misled by her terminology. Two phases of modern history (accidents from our present sociological viewpoint) may tempt us to think of Taiwan as a separate "country." From 1895 to 1945 it was governed by the Japanese; since 1949 it has been cut off by civil war from the mainland of China. But it is part of China, and nobody familiar with Chinese patterns of social organization and behavior will have any difficulty in recognizing the Lims and their neighbors as good Chinese. True, their mother tongue is not Mandarin, but then they share this peculiarity with millions of Chinese on the mainland.

The point is worth stressing because there is a tendency to look upon studies made in Taiwan (and in the British colony of Hong Kong) as

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 -Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

great hunks of snowy fat (the poor man's meat), buckets of blood and entrails. The fish stalls, less gory and less colorful, abound with local river fish and a few ocean fish brought in on the early train, some swimming in buckets, others gutted but missing no eyes—a great delicacy, or tails—a matter of aesthetics. And everywhere there are chickens, ducks, geese, both live and dead. The smells to a foreign nose are sometimes exhilirating, sometimes appalling; the sounds are bewildering. The day's fowl quack, cluck, and honk their distress; above their protest the voices of customers and merchants rise and fall. The din of heated bargaining blends a variety of languages. The farmers speak either Hokkien or Hakka, the native Chinese dialects of the island; a few merchants and their friends converse in Japanese; policemen and soldiers prefer Mandarin, the official language.

Away from the uproar of the market, Tapu's streets seem relatively calm. The paved main street ends at the canal, an irrigation ditch civilized by concrete banks for its passage through town. In several places, steps that lead into the canal end in small platforms where the storekeepers' wives and daughters can do their laundry while keeping an eye on the store. There are more shops on both sides of the canal: a small bookstore, a tailor, a fabric and ready-made clothing store, a photographer, and a paper store that supplies school children with copy books and pencils, and adults with the paraphernalia of worship—metal wires dipped in incense and bundles of spirit money burned to provide for the deceased. One of my favorite shops is that of the beidz-maker who fills the air with a lively rhythmic chwing-chwing sound as he fluffs cotton into puffy battings for warm winter comforters. A little farther down the street a noodle-maker is usually at work. He suspends strips of dough between pegged poles which he gradually moves farther and farther apart as the noodles stretch and dry. Just beyond the noodle-maker is a small, paved square, formed where the canal goes underground. This is the site of a shrine dedicated to Tu Ti Kung, the lowest ranking god in the Chinese supernatural bureaucracy. Tu Ti Kung serves his celestial superiors as the official recorder of the activities of the living. In the country, he is the guardian of the land and the god of agriculture; in the town, he is considered a patron of business and a god of wealth. The responsibility for burning incense at his shrine each morning rotates among the families residing in his district.

128 indicated for the subject village of the study: San Lei
104 Ts'un (Third Port Village). Both Sanlei and Sanlei Ts'un are used interchangeably.

128 In addition, the names of all village residents are pseudonyms. Since each name represents a real person rather than a composite or statistical average, an assigned name is used consistently throughout the report with reference to any real named individual. Consequently, any material which might be considered injurious or which could prove embarrassing is not identified with any of the named individuals.

104 In accordance with several previous anthropological
128 reports pertaining to Taiwan, Mandarin has been employed for all native terms romanized according to the Wade-Giles
[197] system. This was accomplished in spite of the fact that the normal mode of discourse in the subject village as in the majority of Taiwanese villages is in Min-nan Hwa (Taiwanese). Taiwanese terms for which there are no Mandarin equivalent are romanized according to the Douglas system. Three glossaries are provided: Glossary A consists of proper place names in Mandarin and characters. Since the names are in common use in literature and for postal addresses, no Taiwanese equivalent is provided. Glossary B consists of words and short phrases in Mandarin, Taiwanese, English, and characters arranged alphabetically according to the romanized Mandarin. Glossary C includes characters and English for the longer phrases and sentences.

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121 short period allowed for the investigation (Geddes, 1963).

The most common approach has been to study a Chinese community outside of mainland China. Sometimes the communities function as sub-cultures in very different societies such as Indonesia (Tan, 1963) or Thailand (Coughlin, 1960; Skinner, 1957). In other cases, the communities are in areas of mixed political history and domination but which appear to have significant Chinese characteristics: Singapore (Freedman, 1957; Elliott, 1955), Hong Kong (Ward, 1954; Potter, 1968; Baker, 1968), or especially Taiwan (Gallin, 1966; Cohen, 1969; Wolf, 1968; Pasternak, 1969; Diamond, 1969).

All of the above communities have been strongly affected by foreign influences. This does not imply that mainland China has not been influenced; rather, extreme caution must be exercised in any attempt to generalize from the research site to mainland China for the extent of foreign influences are significantly different, both in quantity and quality.

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12| There are good reasons why Taiwan is the most popular of these research locations. It is inhabited by Chinese people living in a Chinese cultural context under a
T
[19?] Chinese government. The only official language is Mandarin Chinese. Six years of education are compulsory,
[8?] nine years since 1968, and only in officially accredited government schools.

123 changed from the inevitable Ba Syan Sheng (Mr. Barnett)
601 to a kinship term or A Wei (Intimate A plus my first name). My wife was called A ku (FaSi) by most village children.

114 We employed a number of research assistants,
124 primarily relying on three, two male and one female. One was well-trained and had had extensive experience with other American scholars. The other two were young college graduates, both with majors in agricultural economics and rural sociology. All three were fluent in Mandarin, Japanese, Taiwanese, and English. Additionally, each had a warm pleasant personality and quickly became popular with villagers. The three worked interchangeably with myself and my wife in both villages. Sometimes they worked alone and sometimes with one or the other of us or both.

124 In field work with an interpreter-assistant, there are
197 always problems in assuring faithful reproduction. No one language was universal for all villagers although Taiwanese approached it. Mandarin was a poor second. Constant rechecking of data through repeated interviews with the same informant and other informants with regard to the same data is a necessary and regular part of anthropological field research. By using different assistants for interviews regarding the same data with different informants, one is also able to assess the accuracy and ability of the
122 assistant. We had studied Mandarin formally before leaving the United States and continued formal study in Taipei.

Languages

191 Sanlei is a multi-lingual community. No one lang-
197 uage is sufficient to communicate with everyone although Taiwanese (min-nan hua) comes very close. All village children speak Taiwanese most of the time. In casual conversations, in village affairs, and in religious observances the utilization of Taiwanese is usual. Use of another language is restricted to "special occasions" such as dealing with government officials, but even here, if villager and official are both Taiwanese, employment of Taiwanese is likely. We started with Mandarin but as we learned a little Taiwanese, our efforts in Taiwanese were greatly applauded.

197 Mandarin is the official language in the schools.
872 Since attendance is compulsory, almost all children are exposed to six years of language training. Several Mainlander teachers in the school refuse to speak Taiwanese at any time and a few know no more than a few polite phrases and do not care to learn any more. Many village women are unable to converse at all with their childrens' teachers. In the li school, only the first grade teacher permits use of any Taiwanese in class.

191 Several of the older men, especially the more in-
192 fluential ones, but no older women, have learned Mandarin
[562] in order to deal with the government and conduct business. Much of the acquired facility in Mandarin will be lost

soon after graduation from grade school unless the graduate works in town. Mandarin and Taiwanese are usually miscalled "Chinese dialects" even though they are not mutually intelligible (Fairbank and Reischauer, 1958:17). Because of the aforementioned Mainlander-Taiwanese antagonism, children do not employ Mandarin outside of school. Mandarin is seemingly equated with Mainlanders. A few people, otherwise quite friendly, would not speak Mandarin with us. They understood for they answered my Mandarin questions in Taiwanese immediately through an interpreter. According to native Mandarin speakers, the Taiwanese have an improper accent when speaking Mandarin. The jokes that are often made about their accents also serve to inhibit attempts at speaking Mandarin.

Japanese is the third most important language in Talei Li. Many men, especially the more influential ones between the ages of 35 and 60, speak Japanese as do a few women in the same age range. One woman who speaks Japanese was a teacher in the Japanese school system. She and her husband are the only two villagers who still speak Japanese regularly together but they are not teaching it to any of their ten children. Men seem proud of their ability in Japanese and were most pleased to display their talents with our assistants.

There are other minor languages spoken in the village. One village woman speaks in addition to Taiwanese

some Taiyal, an aboriginal language. Five villagers speak Hakka. One Mainlander speaks Cantonese and another Hainanese, although both men speak Mandarin as well. Only the Hakka girl who arrived in the village as a bride during our stay spoke absolutely no Taiwanese. She was bilingual in Hakka and Mandarin and her husband, in Taiwanese and Mandarin. Although living in an extended household, she refused to learn any Taiwanese and was unable to converse with her mother-in-law. It does appear that Mandarin is becoming a significant secondary language in spite of some resistance. At present, villagers consider both literacy and fluency in Mandarin as requisite for political office, even on the local level.

Official government figures place the illiteracy rate at 23.1% (China Yearbook, 1967:102) but this is probably greatly underestimated. Everyone in elementary school, even a first grader, is classified as literate while those under six are eliminated as usual. If just the population over 14 is considered, illiteracy exceeds 34%. Moreover, everyone who has completed elementary school (six years) is classified as literate. Functional illiteracy is found in the United States among high school graduates, particularly in the big city ghetto and remote southern rural areas. Chinese is a much more difficult language in which to attain and retain literacy than English (Fairbank and Reischauer, 1958:42). I gave simple